1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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dren, who were afraid to remain alone or were unable to take care of their plantations. Two women who were rather poor lived in the house of Victoria Rapahango, the richest woman of the island. They helped her with her housework as if they were her servants. (See also 79, pp. 14-15.)

Social conditions have changed so much that it is impossible to determine whether this system of permanent guests belonged to the old culture. Very likely it constitutes the only survival of the extended family (*ivi*) living in one big hut and possessing land in common. Formerly, "hospitality was practiced in behalf of friends (*repa-hoa*) who might have been of the same cove or from some other place. It was extended to foreigners but always with the purpose of getting from them more than they gave" (190, p. 464).

The crowding of people into a single small house was in part due to scarcity of wood and the expense of building a new home. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) observes that in former times the habit of crowding ten or twelve persons into a small shack or into a cave was detrimental to morals as well as to health. People of a common abode were certainly relatives, probably brothers and cousins. When Viriamo was young she lived at Anakena with the first wife of her husband, his family, and four brothers. A *hare-paenga* was translated as a house with stone foundations. *Paenga* standing alone was given as a large family (probably extended family). There is certainly a link between the two ideas.

PATERNAL AUTHORITY

Even today, in spite of many examples to the contrary, there is a general tendency to recognize and respect the authority of a father. He can object to the marriage of his son or daughter, either of whom would hesitate to oppose his will. Tepano ruled his family despotically and treated his sons like servants, though they were grown and married. Charli Teao had so much authority over his sons that one of them, in our presence, jumped into the surf on a stormy day to salvage a hat, endangering his life to obey his father. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 383) tells of rescuing a boy whose father intended to drown him for disobedience.

RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The system of relationship terms of Easter Island is essentially the same as that used in the rest of Polynesia. It stresses the speaker's own generation level (0) and recognizes five or more generations (table 3). The terms which designate the generation strata are extended to the collaterals and include all members of the extended family.

Burrows' comparative researches have shown that the Easter Island relationship terms follow exactly the same pattern as those of central Polynesia (Tuamotu, Tahiti, Cook Islands) and Hawaii. However, with the ex-

2:Ferdon A-5 (1956) 1957
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not as complete as they might be, and may tend to be weighted in that all four men were related in one way or another. However this paper, and one on trading techniques which I hope to publish at a future date, show quite clearly that advanced acculturation on the island is, for the most part, only material culture deep and has as yet penetrated only sporadically into the social organization of the people.

BIRTH

Except for a ceremony at the birth of a first child, there appears to be no regularized ritual for births as such. At the present moment an expectant mother either goes to the Naval-run hospital for delivery, or stays at home where her child is delivered with the aid of a midwife. I could learn of no pre-natal or post-parture taboos enforced on either the parents or the child. The rubbing of a fine red iron oxide powder into the baby's navel may have once had ceremonial significance but is now explained as merely an aid in the drying up of the umbilical cord.

It is apparently only the first child, especially a boy child, whose birth is fraught with a danger that must be assuaged by ceremony. Once the ceremony has been completed, however, a time for general celebration and feasting is immediately at hand.

Upon the occasion of the first birth to a married couple the father-in-law of the child's mother immediately prepares a small *umu*, i.e., a meal prepared in a pit oven, which is allowed to cook through the night. At the break of dawn on the following day the immediate families of both the child's parents open the *umu* but do not touch the inclosed food until the new mother has first partaken of it to "bring luck to her baby." After she has eaten this token meal, these relatives finish this initial *umu* and immediately begin preparations for a large *umu* feast for their friends and relatives in celebration of the birth. As with the inter-familial exchange of gifts at the time of a wedding, the respective families of the new parents each prepare their own *umu* and, upon its completion, present it to the opposite family, after which both meals are pooled for the general feasting of friends and relatives. Since such a feast may have to provide for a large portion of the population, each member of the extended family may be called upon to furnish a quantity of food in the form of chickens, eggs, *camotes* or sweet potatoes, etc. Even friends may be called upon and "if they have food beyond their needs they will give to the *umu*." Each friend or relative coming to the feast brings with him, or her, a small *umu* gift for the new mother. This usually consists of a small, wrapped bundle containing chicken or, perhaps, *camote*. It was never made

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[563] [585] [177] great majority follow a formalized pattern. At the present time two Chilean-derived marriage ceremonies take place, a civil marriage on a Saturday and a Catholic church marriage on Sunday. However it is on Saturday, after the civil wedding, that the bridegroom's father gives a large feast for both of the extended families involved in the match. It is at this time that the gifts received by the bride's and bridegroom's fathers are formally distributed among their respective families. [583] To aid in this division of the spoils, a "secretary" is appointed to see that each relative receives a gift of value proportionate to the one he originally gave to the gift exchange. All my informants agreed that the marriage gift-exchange ceremony is a period of great and jovial rivalry to see which family has given the biggest and most valuable gifts.

On Sunday evening after the church wedding a general party for the couple is given, and it is at this time that the bridegroom sings a specially composed song [533] to his bride and she, in turn, sings her special song to him, each going to the other's house for the purpose. It is the best of these songs that have been maintained on Easter Island and today compose the more modern corpus of true Easter Island songs.

591 439 648 135 342 Upon the marriage of a young couple they are free to live in the home of either of their parents, or they may build a home of their own. Actually, living with one or another of the parents is a virtual necessity, owing to the fact that all building materials are brought from the continent once a year by the Chilean Navy and the supply has never caught up with the demand. Further hindering construction is the government's rationing system which, though abundantly fair, allows no single family to buy in one year all the material needed to build a home. This system has [596] resulted in the development, or maintenance, of an extended family pooling system in which, if the family is large enough and each draws his rightful ration of building materials, a house can often be built from the total extended family allotment for a single year. It might also be mentioned that in the construction of such a house, any, or all, of the extended family may be called upon for aid.

423 648 Although the building of a house is a problem, a young couple as yet has no difficulty in obtaining land. At the present time the Chilean government allots the use-rights to five hectarias of terrain to each newly married couple. Formerly an Easter Islander could own his land outright, but this is no longer true, the Chilean government retaining title to all land, owing, apparently, to the strategic nature of the island in the event of war.

606 One of the more interesting facets of Easter Island marriage is the position of the father-in-law in the life of the married couple. Of the two male parents-in-law, it is the girl's father who appears to hold the dominant position of power in the

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marriage. For example, in discussing what would happen if a husband committed adultery, Jorge explained that if the wife found out, or the husband was "too open" about his affair, not only would the wife become very angry but his father-in-law would come to the house and have a severe talk with him. Again, when Martin Rapu was given an opportunity by the Chilean government to go to the continent it was necessary for him to obtain permission to make the trip from Jorge Tepano, his father-in-law. Jorge refused to consent on the basis that, not only was Martin's house incomplete,[5] but he still owed Jorge several sheets of corrugated iron roofing. Should Martin leave the island he would be unable to return the items, for he would not be included in the following year's ration list. When Martin's father interceded in his son's behalf, Jorge questioned the father by saying, "Why do you want your son to go, for if he goes it is you that must take care of my daughter and that will cost you money."

In this statement we see at least one of the roles of the wife's father-in-law, i.e., as the protector of his son's wife. This role of protector is still very common, if not universal, on the island but, as far as I can gather, comes into play only when the husband is actually leaving the island for any extended time. The responsibilities of this position are fully understood and respected by the wife to the extent that, in one instance, the governor of the island, Commander Curti, was forced to go to a woman's father-in-law to obtain permission for the woman to work for Mrs Curti in the governor's mansion. In this instance the woman was fully mature, being well along in her forties, but her husband had gone to Chile to work and therefore the decision had to be made by her father-in-law.

Further evidence of the important position held by the girl's father in a marriage is seen in the *koro* ceremony which is given by a young husband for his father-in-law to show him what a good son-in-law he has. This is a post-marriage rite which may be given up to a year or two after the couple has married. During the intervening period the husband's extended family helps him collect as many roosters as possible. When a sufficient number have been accumulated, the husband invites his wife's immediate relatives and her extended family to a feast. When the feasting has been completed, the collected roosters appear, each rooster individually tied to a single long rope stretched out upon the ground. There may be from one hundred to one hundred and fifty birds tied to such a rope. With the termination of the feasting the husband presents the string of roosters to his father-

5 I came across several cases on the island where the lack of a house, or the incompleteness of a house, was given as the reason for a man's not taking a trip away from the island. The need to properly house one's family before setting off on a long trip appears paramount in the eyes of the Rapa-nui.